1: Leitner L-3 (1866-93) 1893? AV3 Dard AV3

under a huge stone which projects from the base of the Niludâr range on the Gilgit side.

There were formerly seven forts at Tshamûgar. A convention had been made between the Rajah of Gilgit and the Rajah of Skardo, by which Tshamûgar was divided by the two according to the natural division which a stream that comes down from the Batkôr mountain made in that territory. The people of Tshamûgar, impatient of the Skardo rule, became all of them subjects to the Gilgit Rajah, on which Sher Shah Ali Shah, the ruler of Skardo, collected an army, and crossing the Makpon-i-shagaron* at the foot of the Haramûsh mountain, came upon Tshamûgar and diverted the water which ran through that district into another direction. This was the reason of the once fertile Tshamûgar becoming deserted; the forts were razed to the ground. There are evidently traces of a river having formerly run through Tshamûgar. The people say that the Skardo Rajah stopped the flow of the water by throwing quicksilver into it. This is probably a legend arising from the reputation which Ahmad Shah, the most recent Skardo ruler whom the Guraizis can remember, had of dabbling in medicine and sorcery.†

CHILASI SONGS.

[The Chilasis have a curious way of snapping their fingers, with which practice they accompany their songs, the thumb running up and down the fingers as on a musical instrument.]

10. CHILASI.

Tù hùn Gítshere bódje sòmmo dímm̀ bamèm
Mèy shahínni pashalóto dewà salâm dáute
Rás; Aje góje bómto méy dùddi aje nush
Hargìnn Zúe déy mo bejómos
Samat Khánay sóni mó báshémm tutàk
Mùugà deyto; mó dabtar dèm

* The defile of the Makpon-i-Shang-Rong, where the Indus river makes a sudden turn southward and below which it receives the Gilgit river.

† The Shiah Rajahs of Skardo believed themselves to be under the special protection of Ali.

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VIII.—Dir ... ... Ghazan Khan (a very powerful ruler. Chitrál is said to have once been tributary to him).

Rahmat-ulla Khan and other eight sons (dispersed or killed in struggles for the Chiefship).

The connection of Little Tibet with the Dard countries had ceased before 1800.

ROUGH CHRONOLOGICAL SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF DARDISTAN SINCE 1800.

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1800.—Gurtam Khan, hereditary ruler of the now dispossessed Gilgit Dynasty, rules 10 years in peace; is killed in an engagement with Suleyman Khan, Khushwaktia, great uncle of the famous Gauhar Amán (or Gormán) of Yasin.

1811.—Muhammad Khan, the son of Gurtam Khan, defeats Suleyman Khan, rules Gilgit for 15 years in peace and perfect independence whilst—

1814.—(Sirdar Muhammad Azim Khan, Barakzai, is ruler of Kashmir).

1819.—Ranjit Singh annexes Kashmir.

1826.—Suleyman Khan of Yasin again attacks Gilgit and kills Muhammad Khan and his brother, Abbas Ali. Muhammad Khan's son, Asghar Ali, is also killed on his flight to Nagyr.

1827.—Suleyman Shah appoints Azad Khan (?), petty Raja of Gakutsh, over Gilgit as far as Bunji; Azad Khan ingratiates himself with the people and rebels against Suleyman Shah whom he kills (?) in 1829.

1829.—Suleyman Shah, head of the Khushwaktia family of Yasin, dies.

1833.—Gauhar Amán turns his uncle, Azmat Shah, out of Yasin.

1834.—Azad Khan is attacked by Tahir Shah of Nagyr and killed. Tahir Shah, a Shiah, treats his subjects well. Dies 1839. Vigne visits Astór in 1835, but Tahir Shah will not allow him to cross over to Gilgit. At that time the Sikhs had not conquered any Dard country. Ahmad Shah was independent ruler of Little Tibet (Baltistan) and under him was Jabar Khan, chief of Astór (whose descendants,* like those of Ahmad Shah himself and of the Ladak rulers are now petty pensioners under Kashmir surveillance). (The Little Tibet dynasty had once, under Shah Murad, about 1660, conquered Hunza, Nagyr, Gilgit and Chitrál, where that ruler built a bridge near the fort.) Zorawar Singh conquers Little Tibet in 1840, but no interference in Dard affairs takes place till 1841 when the Sikhs are called in as temporary allies by the Gilgit ruler against Gauhar Amán of Yasin.

1840.—Sakandar Khan, son of Tahir Shah, succeeds to the throne of Gilgit and rules the country—with his brothers, Kerim Khan and Suleyman Khan.

* Abbas Khan (?) now at Srinagar and Bahadur Khan (?).

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1841.—Gauhar Amán of Yasin conquers Gilgit. Its ruler, Sikandar Khan, asks Sheikh Ghulam Muhi-ud-din, Governor of Kashmir on behalf of the Sikhs, for help.

1842.—1,000 Kashmir troops sent under Nathe Shah, a Panjabi.

1843.—Sikandar Khan is murdered at Bakrôt at the instigation of Gauhar Amán.

1844.—Gauhar Amán of Yasin re-conquers the whole country, selling many of its inhabitants into slavery.

Nathe Shah, joined by Kerim Khan, younger brother of Sikandar Khan and 4,000 reinforcements, takes Numal Fort, but his subordinate Mathra Das is met at Sher Kila (20 miles from Gilgit) by Gauhar Amán and defeated.

1845.—Karim Khan succeeds his brother as ruler (called "Raja," although a Muhammadan) of Gilgit and pays a small sum for the retention of some Kashmir troops in the Gilgit Fort under Nathe Shah. The Rajas of Hunza, Nagyr and Yasin [Gauhar Amán sending his brother Khalil Amán to Sheikh Iman-ud-din] now seek to be on good terms with Kashmir, especially as its representatives, the tyrannical Nathe Shah and his equally unpopular successor, Atar Singh, are removed by its Muhammadan Governor.

1846.—Karim Khan, Raja of Gor, another son of Tahir Shah, calls in Nathe Shah and defeats Gauhar Amán at Basin, close to Gilgit. A succession of officers of Ghulab Singh then administer the country in connexion with the Raja of Gilgit (Wazir Singh, Ranjit Rai, Bakhshu, Ali Bakhsh and Ahmad Ali Shah, brother or cousin of Nathe Shah). By Treaty (see page 110):

"KASHMIR AND ITS DEPENDENCIES EASTWARD OF THE INDUS" are made over by the British to the Hindu Ghulab Singh. Gilgit, which lies to the *westward* of the Indus, is thus excluded from the dominions of that Maharaja. Gilgit was also, strictly speaking, not a dependency of Kashmir, nor was Chilás.

1847.—The Maharaja restores Nathe Shah, whilst confirming his cousin Nazar Ali Shah as Military Commandant of Gilgit. Raja Kerim Khan sends his brother Suleyman Khan on a friendly mission to Srinagar, where he dies. Vans Agnew arrives at Chalt on the Gilgit frontier towards Nagyr and makes friends with the people, who at first thought that he came accompanied by troops.

1848.—Isa Bahadur, the half-brother of Gauhar Amán by a concubine of Malik Amán Shah, is expelled from Sher Kila, a Fort belonging to Punyal, a dependency of Yasin, and finds refuge with the Maharaja, who refuses to give him up. Gauhar Amán accordingly sends troops under his brother Akbar Amán and captures the Bargu and Shukayôt Forts in Gilgit territory. The Rajas of Hunza and Nagyr combine with Gauhar Amán and assisted by the Gilgit people, with whom Kerim Khan was unpopular because of his friendship for Kashmir, defeat and kill Nathe Shah and Kerim Khan. Gauhar Amán captures the Gilgit and Chaprôt Forts. The Kashmir troops re-invade the country and at the beginning of

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1849.—Wrest all the forts in Gilgit territory from Gauhar Aman, and make over the rule of that country to Raja Muhammad Khan, son of Karim Khan, assisted by the Kashmir representative, Aman Ali Shah as Thanadar, soon removed for oppression.

1850.—The raids of the Chilasis on Astor is made the occasion for invading the country of Chilas, which, *not* being a dependency of Kashmir, is *not* included in the Treaty of 1846. (See page 110.) The Maharaja gives out that he is acting under orders of the British Government. Great consternation among petty chiefs about Muzaffarabad, regarding ulterior plans of the Maharaja. The Sikhs send a large army, which is defeated before the Fort of Chilas.

1851.—Bakhshi Hari Singh and Dewan Hari Chand are sent with 10,000 men against Chilas and succeed in destroying the fort and reasserting the hostile hill tribes which assisted the Chilasis.

1852.—The Maharaja's head officers, Sarup Singh and Ramdhan, are murdered by the people of Gilgit whom they oppressed. The people again assist Gauhar Aman, who defeats and kills Bhup Singh and Rukneddin (for details *vide* Appendix), and drives the Kashmir troops across the Indus to Astor.

1853.—The Maharaja now confines himself to the frontier, assigned to him by nature as well as the treaty, at Bunji, on the east of the Indus, but sends agents to sow discord in the family of Gauhar Aman. In addition to Isa Bahadur, he gained over two other brothers, Khalil Aman and Akbar Aman, but failed with Mahtar Sakhi, although an exile. He also attracted to his side Aman Shah, Gauhar Aman's uncle.

1854.—The Maharaja instigated Shah Afzal of Chitral to attack Gauhar Aman, and accordingly in

1855.—Adam Khan, son of Shah Afzal of Chitral, drove Gauhar Aman from the possession of Mastuj and Yasin and restricted him to Punyal and Gilgit.

1856.—The Maharaja sends a force across the Indus under Wazir Zoowers and Attar Singh assisted by Raja Zahid Jafar of Nagar,* and Gauhar Aman thus attacked in front and flank, recovers from Gilgit and dispossesses Adam Khan from Yasin and Mastuj.

1857.—Gauhar Aman again conquers Gilgit and drives out Isa Bahadur, officiating Thanadar of that place. Gauhar Aman and the Maharaja intrigue against each other in Chitral, Nagar, Hunza, etc.

1858.—Shah Afzal of the Shah Kathor branch, ruler of Chitral, dies.

Intrigues in Gilgit against Gauhar Aman, by Muhammad Khan, son of Raja Karim Khan, assisted by Kashmir. Muhammad Khan is conciliated by marrying the daughter of Gauhar Aman. The Sai District of Gilgit beyond the Nilodar range is still held by the Sikhs.

* I believe that Raja Zahid Ja'far's wife was a sister of Rajas Karim Khan and Sikandar Khan of Gilgit (also of Nagar descent). *Vide* page 67 and Heading V. on page 89.
This connexion might account for Ja'far helping the Dogras, who had established Karim Khan in Gilgit.

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1859.—Mir Shah of Badakhshan and Raja Ghazanfar of Hunza assist Gauhar Aman in attacking Nagyr, which is under the friendly Raja Zahid Jalal, and in trying to turn out the Sikhs from Sai and even Bunji. Azmat Shah, uncle of Gauhar Aman, is expelled from Chitral where he had sought refuge.

Amin-ul-Mulk, King of Chitral, dispossesses his younger brother, Adam Khan, who had usurped the throne, from the rule of Chitral and joins Gauhar Aman against Kashmir.

1860.—The Maharaja instigates Adam Khan and Azmat Shah, who were in the country of Dir with Ghazan Khan, a friendly chief to Kashmir, to fight Gauhar Aman—Adam Khan was to have Yasin. Azmat Shah was to take Mastuch and Sher Kila (Payal) was to be given to Isa Bahadar, the Maharaja to have Gilgit. Intrigues of the Maharaja with the Chiefs of Dir, Badakhshan, etc.

Gauhar Aman dies, which is the signal for an attack by the Maharaja co-operating with the sons of Raja Karim Khan of Gilgit. Gilgit falls easily to Lochan Singh, who murders Bahadar Khan, brother of Gauhar Aman, who was sent with presents from Malik Aman, also called Malik Aman, son of Gauhar Aman. The Sikhs, under Colonels Devi Singh and Hushiara and Radha Kishen, march to Yasin expelling Malik Aman from that country (which is made over to Azmat Shah) as also from Mastuch. Isa Bahadar is reinstated as ruler of Payal, but Malik Aman returns and drives him and Azmat Shah out. The Kashmir troops fail in their counter-attacks on Yasin, but capture some prisoners, including Malik Aman's wife.

1861.—Malik Aman murders his uncle, Akbar Aman, a partisan of Kashmir.

Badakhshan, Chitral and Dir ask the Maharaja to assist them against the dreaded invasion of the Kabul Amir, Afzal Khan and Azim Khan. Amin-ul-Mulk tries to get up a religious war (Jehad) among all the Mohammedan Chiefs. Hunza and Nagyr make friends. Both Adam Khan and Amin-ul-Mulk, who have again become reconciled, send conciliatory messages to the Maharaja, who frustrates their designs, as they are secretly conspiring against him.

Even Malik Aman makes overtures, but unsuccessfully.

1862.—Kashmir troops take the Fort of Roshan. A combination is made against Malik Aman, whose uncle Gulshar and brother Mir Ghazi go over to the Maharaja.

1863.—Malik Aman advancing on Gilgit is defeated in a very bloody battle at the Yasin Fort of Shanzir. Massacre of women and children by the Kashmir troops at Yasin.

1864.—Mir Vali and his Vazir Rahmat become partisans of the Maharaja.

1865.—Ghazanfar, the Raja of Hunza and father-in-law of Malik Aman, dies, which causes Mirza Bahadar of the rival Nagyr to combine for an attack on Hunza with Kashmir. Adam Khan murders his uncle, Tajammul Shah, whose son, Malik Shah, murders

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175 1866.—Adam Khor (some say at the instigation of his elder brother, Amán-ul-Mulk). Malik Shah seeks refuge with the Maharaja who will not give him up to Amán-ul-Mulk. Amán-ul-Mulk then sprung the mine he had long prepared, and when the long contemplated campaign against Hunza took place in 1866, all the Mussulman Chiefs who had been adherents of the Maharaja, including Mir Vali, fell away. The Kashmir troops which had advanced on Nummal were betrayed, and defeated by the Hunza people (now ruled by Ghazan Khan, son of Ghazanfar).

All the hill tribes combine against Kashmir and reduce the Dogras to the bare possession of Gilgit, which however held out successfully against more than 20,000 of the allied Dards, headed by Amán-ul-Mulk, Ghazan Khan and Mir Vali. Very large reinforcements were sent by Kashmir,* at whose approach the besiegers retreated, leaving, however, skirmishers all over the country.

Wazir Zorawru followed up the advantage gained by invading Darayl. Whilst the place was yet partially invested, Dr. Leitner made his way to the Gilgit Fort and frustrated two attempts made against him by the employés of the Maharaja, who ostensibly were friends.

1867.—Jehandár Shah of Badakhshan is expelled from his country by the Governor of Balkh and seeks refuge in Kabul, where he is restored a year afterwards to his ancestral throne by the influence of Abdurrahman Khan, son of the Amir Afzal Khan and by his popularity. His rival, Mahmud Shah, leaves without a struggle. Mir Vali, joining Mulk Amán, made an unsuccessful attack on Isa Bahadur and Azmat Shah, who beat them off with the help of Kashmir troops from Gilgit. The consequence was general disappointment among the Muhammadan Chiefs and the Hill tribe of Darayl (which had been subdued in the meantime) and all opened friendly relations with Kashmir, especially.

1868.—Mir Vali rules Yasin with Pahlwan.† Mulk Amán flees to Chitrál.

1869.—Mulk Amán takes service with Kashmir and is appointed on a salary, but under surveillance, at Gilgit.

1870.—Mr. Hayward visits Yasin in March; is well received by the Chief, Mir Vali, but returns, as he finds the passes on to the Pamir closed by snow—visits the country a second time in July, after exposing the conduct and breach of treaty of the Kashmir authorities, and is murdered, apparently without any object, at Darkót in Yasin, one stage on to Wakhan, by some men in the

* Jawahir Singh went by Shigar with 13,000 Balti (Little Tibetans), 2,000 light infantry came out Jagloth under Sirdar Mahmud Khan. The general of all the "Khulle" Regiments was Bakhshi Radha Kishn. Colonel Hoshiára went by the Nomal road to Nagar, and after destroying 3,000 head of sheep and many villages returned.

Wazir Zorawru went to Darél with Colonel Devi Singh and 10,000 men (?). Bija Singh was at Gor (?) and Hussani Ali was in command of the Artillery.

† Mir Vali and Pahlwan are brothers by different mothers. Mulk Amán and Nura Gami (Mir Ghazi ?) are brothers by the same mother—so one of my men says. Pahlwan is Amán-ul-Mulk's sister's son (vide "History of Wars with Kashmir").

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service of his former friend, Mir Vali, who, however, soon flies the country in the direction of Badakhshan, then seeks refuge with the Akhund of Swat, and finally returns to Yasin, where he is reported to have been well received by Pahlwan. Whilst in Chitrál, he was seen by Major Montgomerie's Havildar and was on good terms with Amán-ul-Mulk, who is supposed, chiefly on the authority of a doubtful seal, to be the instigator of a murder which was not, apparently, to his interests and which did not enrich him or Mir Vali with any booty, excepting a gun and a few other trifles. Much of the property of Mr. Hayward was recovered by the Kashmir authorities, and a monument was erected by them to his memory at Gilgit, where there is already a shrine, which is referred to on pages 47 and 51.

1871.—Jehandár Shah, son of Mir Shah, who had again been turned out of the rule of Badakhshan in October 1869 by Mir Mahmud Shah with the help of the Afghan troops of Amir Sher Ali, finds an asylum in Chitrál with Amán-ul-Mulk (whose daughter had been married to his son) after having for some time shared the fortunes of his friend, the fugitive Abdurrahman Khan of Kabul. (Chitrál pays an annual tribute to the Chief of Badakhshan in slaves, which it raises either by kidnapping travellers or independent Kafirs or by enslaving some of its own Shiah and Kafir subjects—the ruler being of the Sunni persuasion.)

1872.—Late accounts are confused, but the influence of Amir Sher Ali seems to be pressing through Badakhshán on Chitrál and through Bajaur on Swat on the one hand and on the Kafir races on the other. The Maharaja of Kashmir on the one side and the Amir of Kabul on the other seem to endeavour to approach their frontiers at the expense of the intervening Dard and other tribes. Jehandár Shah infests the Kolab road and would be hailed by the people of Badakhshan as a deliverer from the oppressive rule of Mahmud Shah, as soon as the Kabul troops were to withdraw.

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So far my "Dardistan," in which a detailed "History of the Wars with Kashmir" will be found. The events since 1872 need only to be indicated here in rough outline, and, unfortunately, confirm my worst anticipations as to the destruction of the independence of the Dardu tribes, of their legendary lore, and, above all, of the purity of their languages, including the prehistoric Khajuná or "Burishki" spoken in Hunza-Nagyr, and a part of Yasin. What are the admitted encroachments of our Ally, the Maharaja of Kashmir, have been utilized in our supposed interests, and we have stepped in to profit, as we foolishly think, by his sins, whilst he is tricked out of their reward. Falsely alleging that Hunza-Nagyr were rebellious vassals of Kashmir, when Hunza at all events was under Chinese protectorate, we have reduced their patriotic defenders to practical servitude, and, by to-day's *Times* (21st November, 1892), are starting, along with 250 rifles and two guns, some 100 men of a Hunza levy to Chitrál to put down a trouble which our ill-judged interference has created in another independent principality, where we have put aside the rightful heir, Nizám-ul-Mulk, for his

101 131 from the Burzil Pass to the Sharot village, a distance of 143 miles from south-east towards north-west with its small surrounding valleys of Kamri, Tarsing, Parising, Sai, Haramosh and Bagrot; and along the Hunza river from Gilgit to Guech, with its adjacent valley of Naltar, a distance of 24 miles.

175 631 The country was first conquered in 1846 by the troops of His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir under Syed Nathe Shah from Gauhar Aman, the Khushwakti Chief of Yasin, who had usurped the district from Sikander Khan and his brother Karim Khan, the rightful rulers of Gilgit. Karim Khan had escaped to Kashmir to ask for help, and returned with a large force under Syed Nathe Shah. Hearing the news of their approach, Gauhar Aman fled to Yasin, leaving the country to be possessed by them without bloodshed. The country was restored to the rightful rulers, but some later events lead the Maharaja of Kashmir to keep the district under the direct jurisdiction of [648] his own officials. The British Agency was established in 1889. The Political Agent, an officer of the Government of India, and the Wazir-i-Wazarat, an official of His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir, have their headquarters at Gilgit proper. The latter has jurisdiction over the district only, while the former, in addition to his control over Gilgit, has political relations with the surrounding states of Hunza, Nagir, Punial, Ishkuman, Yasin, Ghizr and the Chilas republic, which all acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kashmir Durbar. Gilgit is garrisoned by Kashmir Imperial Service Troops under a General Officer Commanding appointed by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir. The troops are relieved every two years.

491 205 206 A good pony road runs between Srinagar, Gilgit, Chitral and Hunza, remaining open for traffic from June to October. It is closed from November to May, owing to the heavy fall of snow on the Tragbal (Rajdiagan) and the Burzil passes. However, the ordinary letter post is carried across the passes at favourable opportunities by local runners. Kashmir, Gilgit and Chitral are also connected by a telegraph line.

162 795 619 101 [174] The present inhabitants of the country are all Muhammadans, chiefly of the Shia sect, with a few Sunnis and Maulais. The principal tribes are Ronos, Shins, Yeshkuns Kashmiris, Kramins, Dums and Gujars. They are again divided into several families called after the names of distinguished ancestors. I am of the opinion that the Kramins are the original inhabitants of Gilgit, while the Yeshkuns, Shins and Ronos came afterwards in the above order and conquered the former inhabitants.

101 619 523 The Yeshkuns are probably an Aryan race, having arrived from Central Asia *vid* the Hindu Kush. Being stronger than the aborigines, they succeeded in conquering these districts, made the original inhabitants their servants and named them "Kramins" (attendants).

101 [795] 619 The Shins profess to be the descendants of Arabs. They are probably Jews, and have come *vid* Afghanistan from either Persia or Turkey. They prefer a style of self-government, and endeavour wherever they settle to continue this form of their original government. It is of interest to note, however, that before embracing Islam the Shins, in this resembling the Hindus, disliked meat, milk or even *ghi* made from cow's milk, disapproved of the keeping of fowls and regarded even a fish diet with aversion. If a Shin had taken two wives, one of his own tribe and the other of the Yeshkun tribe, the children

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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and the pine-forest is less extensive, while spruce-fir has become rare. Birch is found nearly up to 12,000 feet, and *Pinus excelsa* at 11,300. Some of the hill-sides have great stretches of birch-wood, which, as I saw them in autumn, made a glorious blaze of yellow, from the valley-bottom far up the mountain, enveloping detached woods of dark pine.

Coming down the valley we reach traces of cultivation at the level of 10,000 feet. First are detached hamlets and small villages, bare, with no trees round them. Then, at Rattū, are some apricot trees; at the next place are some small walnuts; while at Chagām, which is 8500 feet, are many fine walnut trees, and from there onwards the villages are mostly well shaded by fruit-trees.

But in that upper part it is chiefly traces of former cultivation that one sees; they are enough to show that crops will grow and ripen; but the fields are waste, the hamlets deserted. In most of the mountain-tracts we have hitherto gone over the population has increased nearly up to the limit of land available; but here is room for hundreds of settlers. This state of things was brought about by the raids of the people of Chilās. The Chilāsīs are a Dārd race inhabiting a long valley on the west of Diyāmir or Nangā Parbat. Until about 1850 they used to make occasional expeditions for plunder into this Astor Valley. Often they came over the Mazenū Pass to reach these higher parts, while for Astor itself, which they also attacked, they came round by the Hatū Pass and Dūiyān. The plunder they came for was cattle and people to make slaves of; their captives they do not sell, but they keep them for their own service, making use of them to take their flocks and herds to pasture. But since it would be almost impossible to keep grown men as their slaves at such work, where opportunities for escape would be plentiful, they used to kill the men and carry away only the women and the young people.

It was these raids that determined Maharaja Gulāb Singh to send a punitive expedition against Chilās; this he did in 1851 or 1852, I am not sure which; one force went direct from Kashmir, and one advanced by this Mazenū Pass. The Dogrās were in great straits for provisions, as the communications were

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not well kept up, but they at last took the chief stronghold of the Chilāsīs, a fort two or three miles from the Indus River, and reduced those people to some degree of obedience. A few of the slaves were released, but most of them had been sent to neighbouring valleys for safety, and they could not be recovered; as late as 1869 some half dozen of them escaped, and returned to their homes in Astor. The expedition had the effect of frightening the Chilāsīs into good behaviour; there has been no raid since. There is even some communication kept up; the people from Tarshing, a village under Nangā Parbat, now go to Chilās, while from Chilās messengers or envoys come to the Maharaja with a yearly tribute and hostages, of whom a certain number remain in Kashmir until, after a year or two, others come in exchange.

It is curious that while the people of Astor are all riders and keep many ponies, these Chilāsīs have none, and they used not to attempt to take away any they met with in their raids.

The Astor people, who thus in later times have suffered so much, used formerly, when they were stronger, to do the same kind of thing. Gurez was liable to their attacks, and Drās also.

The present state of quietness and security is a great change for them all. But the country has not yet recovered the ruin and depopulation. Some new small settlements have indeed been made in the old village sites; attempts have been made to induce the Baltīs, who overflow from their own country, to settle; but the inclement climate of the higher part of the valley (where chiefly there is vacant ground), and the absence of the fruit-trees they are so much used to enjoy, deter them.

The most interesting place I visited in the Astor country is the valley which leads up to the base of Nangā Parbat. Just beyond the last village, Tarshing, one comes to the foot of one of the glaciers that spring from that great mountain.* I went

* The G. T. Survey Map is not accurate in the delineation of these glaciers; they do not in reality unite as there expressed. I have made the correction, as far as I could with certainty, in the map attached to this book. Other small mistakes occur in the Survey Map as to the position of streams and so on in the Astor and Rondū districts; these, though I was able to detect them, I had not time to rectify; so they have been allowed to stand in mine as in the Government Map.

1: Drew G-S (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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133 plateau on which the village of Choi is situated, and destroyed the prosperity of that place. On the left bank, the flood, in cutting a cliff, carried away the canal that irrigated another village; and some land and some houses at Tarshing itself were washed away. Lower down, in the Astor Valley, at Gurikot, Dashkin, and other places, some cultivated lands were destroyed, but it does not seem that any lives were lost. A curious thing followed this;—the glacier gradually sunk in level, at the rate of a few yards every year, till it came down to its present position, that is about 100 feet below its former level; at the same time it became crevassed, so that now it is difficult to find a road across. It is evident that at the time the glacier abutted against the rock the ice was being compressed, and the crevasses that may have formerly existed were closed up; afterwards, the water kept open a passage, the ice was cracked off bit by bit as it advanced, and the circumstances that cause crevasses (as inequalities in the bed) acted without opposition. Now again the space between the end of the glacier and the cliff is closed up; the waters at present find a passage for themselves beneath; probably the same process of compression has re-commenced, which may again end in a complete stoppage of the upper drainage, formation of a lake, and subsequent outbreak and flood.

[361] The village of Astor is situated on the western side of the valley, at the junction of one of those tributary valleys which come 648 down from the Nangā Parbat Ridge. It is on the remnant of an 175 alluvial plateau, at a height of some 500 feet above the main river. This place, which used to be the seat of a Dārd Raja, is now a cantonment of the Maharaja's troops, the chief station for the Gilgit Brigade. It is a collection of hundreds of small huts, which the soldiers inhabit in twos and threes; these huts are huddled or crowded together in two or three separate clumps. The number of troops is about 1200; the object of keeping them here rather than nearer the frontier is to save carriage of the supplies, which mostly come from Kashmir; the force is on the

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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right side of the snowy Pass, and is always ready to advance to Gilgit if required. I know very little of the history of Astor. Bernier, who wrote about the year 1660, in enumerating the countries that border Kashmir, speaks of the territories of *Raja Gamon*. Now from geographical position I infer that this was the ruler of Astor. When the Sikhs held Kashmir, the Astor Raja was tributary to them; he had become so without any force having been sent; for a time he remained in quiet. But a curious thing happened. When Wazir Lakpat (who was lieutenant of Zurāwar Singh, who was servant of Raja Gulāb Singh, who was a tributary of the Sikhs) was victorious in Skārdū, he came over the Harpo Lā and invaded Astor. Lakpat besieged the Astor fort for four months; at the end of which time it was given up for want of provisions, and the Raja was taken away prisoner to Skārdū; and this though he was on terms of friendship and (in a degree) dependent on the Sikh Governor of Kashmir. At last, representations on the subject went to Lāhor, and from there Gulāb Singh received directions to desist from interfering with Astor, so the Raja was sent back. But not long afterwards the Sikhs themselves from Kashmir required a passage through the Astor territory on their way to Gilgit (as will be related in Chapter XIX.), and not only so, but they required to make their communications sure; with this object a Sikh post was placed at Astor, and from that time the independence of the Raja diminished; now there is a titular Raja, for whose subsistence some provision is made, whether by pension or from land I do not know.

At Astor and for many miles on there is one general character of the valley; at the bottom it is very narrow; the river is quite confined between the ends of great spurs from the lofty mountain-ridges on both sides; the cultivation is on very small spaces, usually some hundreds of feet above the valley-bottom. The hill-sides are partly broken into cliffs and partly of a smooth surface, grown over with grass in tufts, and with bushes of pencil-cedar scattered over, while in parts sheltered from the sun *Pinus*

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From Hatū Pīr there is a great descent, of about 5000 feet, by a zigzag road, steep and rough. We do not immediately reach the Indus Valley, but we go first to where the end of the Hatū spur nearly meets the mountain on the opposite side of the Astor River, leaving but a narrow channel for the water. Here the Astor River is spanned by two rope-bridges, made of birch twigs, and by a wooden bridge, over which ponies can be taken; a tower has been built that commands the passage; the position is held by some forty soldiers, who keep a good look-out. The place is a strange one; the soldiers live in caves in the rock; the rock overhangs, so as to keep off the sunshine for the greater part of the day; still the air becomes burning hot in summer; in winter, though no snow falls, the cold is somewhat severe.

Here crossing and following down the Astor River we soon debouch into the Indus Valley and find ourselves on the stony alluvial tracts, over nine miles of which, with small ups and downs, we have to go before reaching Bawanjī.

BAWANJI.

This is a spot where at one time was a good deal of cultivation, and it is likely that fruit-trees once shaded it; but during the wars of two or three generations back it was laid waste and became entirely depopulated, and nought but bare ground remained. At that earlier time it was inhabited by Dārds, but was ruled, as I am informed, from Rondū; it was by Sulaimān Shāh's invasion that it was laid waste.* At the present time Bawanjī has a very small area under cultivation, but the place is of some importance as a military post, since on the holding of it depends the passage of the Indus on the way to Gilgit. There is a fort which was built by the Dogrās; it is manned by about seventy men, and as many more are in barracks outside. There is here also a prison, where a gang of incorrigible Kashmīrī horse-stealers are detained; these men enjoy during the day some liberty for cultivating their plots of land. The valley here is warm and dry; with irrigation two crops can always be raised.

* See Chapter XIX.

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here the Puniāl Raja has a guard of six men, who, on signs of an enemy approaching, would light a signal fire; for this reason no cooking of food is allowed there, so the look-out party take a few days' provisions ready cooked, to last until their relief. To hold the position would require one or two hundred men. There are two roads past it, one of them only can be traversed by horses. At three other places is a guard kept. One on the left bank of the Gilgit River, a little lower down than Gākūj; one is on the left bank of the Ishkoman River (which falls in from the north above Gākūj) and one on its right bank, near, I think, its junction with the main stream; while in summer a guard is pushed nearly a day's march up the Ishkoman Valley. The object is to reach the best look-out place at each particular time of the year, and this must vary as the rivers become fordable or impassable. The Yāsīnīs have a guard at a place called Shedodas, on the left bank, opposite to Hūpar.

It was in November, 1870, that I went through Puniāl. The ruler is Raja Isā Bāgdur (a name sometimes corrupted by strangers to Bahādur). We were together for several days; we travelled in company, and nearly every day I joined him in a game of polo; with such intercourse we naturally became well acquainted. He is a man who has long been at enmity with the Yāsīn family, and now entertains the most lively hatred of them; in the various tides of invasion he has had to flee from his territory and take shelter now in Gilgit, now in Chilās, and now in Kashmir. On the re-conquest of Gilgit by the Maharaja (which will be related in another chapter) he was replaced in his own country, which ever since he has held in faithful dependence on the Maharaja's Government, often under difficult circumstances. Though an old man he is strong and active; he is a capital, even a renowned, rider. In character he is both brave and politic, at the same time cautious and enterprising. He is much feared by his enemies and liked by his people; these obey him implicitly; it is their custom, on meeting him, to go up and kiss his hand; this, I believe, to be the general old custom in Dārdistān, or at all events in that part of it where the government is monarchical.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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CHAPTER XIX.

DĀRDISTĀN: GILGIT HISTORY.

BEFORE THE COMING OF THE SIKHS IN 1842 — THE SIKH OCCUPATION; 1842 TO 1847 — THE SUCCESSION OF THE DOGRĀS; 1847 — THE EXPULSION OF THE DOGRĀS; 1852 — RE-CONQUEST BY THE DOGRĀS; 1860 — LATER HOSTILITIES; 1863 TO 1869 — CHANGES AT YĀSIN; 1870 TO 1873.

BEFORE THE COMING OF THE SIKHS IN 1842.*

As far back as the time of any tradition that has reached me, Gilgit has been governed by Rajas; it has not been of those valleys ruled a democracy, such as, in connection with some neighbouring countries, we shall later describe. 175

The early Rajas of Gilgit were called Trakane; that was the name of their caste or family; this caste is now extinct, except that the present titular Raja has a slight strain of that blood from the female side. Tradition mentions as the founder of this royal family of Trakane one Trakan, a personage described as of miraculous powers. I was told the names of half-a-dozen rulers after him whom we still must count as outside the bounds of history; these are Azar, Jamsher, Khisrau, Fardos, and Habikan his son. It is worthy of note that most of these names are old Persian ones. The succeeding names I think we may depend upon, namely: [564]

Gūrītham.
Muhammad Khān, son of Gūrītham.
Abas, brother to Muhammad Khān.

Of the name Gūrītham the last syllable must be the same word "tham" which in the Hunza language means "king" or

* I am not sure of this date to a year; J. D. Cunningham ('History of the Sikhs') says, "Towards the end of 1843 the secluded principality of Gilgit was overrun and annexed to Cashmere by the Sikhs." But my other information pointed to the year 1842.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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175 "raja"; the name "Gūrī" is found in composition in Gūrīkot, *kot* meaning "fort,"; there is one Gūrīkot in the Astor Valley and another in the Kishangangā Valley.

Abas was the last of the Trakane line; with him ended the independence of Gilgit; henceforward the valley was devastated by successive invasions of the neighbouring Rajas, who, each in turn, first acquired the country and then was defeated and killed by some other. In the twenty or thirty years ending with 1842 there were *five* dynastic revolutions in Gilgit, as follows:—

(1) Sulaimān Shāh, ruler of Yāsīn, of the Bakhte caste or family, conquered Gilgit from either Muhammad Khān or Abas, I do not know which.

(2) Āzād Khān, ruler of Puniāl, killed Sulaimān Shāh at Sher and ruled in his stead in Gilgit.

(3) Tāīr Shāh, ruler of Nagar, displaced and killed Āzād Khān; he himself died a natural death, and was succeeded by his son, Shāh Sakandar.

(4) Gaur Rahmān, ruler of Yāsīn, conquered Gilgit and killed Shāh Sakandar.

(5) Karīm Khān, brother to Shāh Sakandar who was killed, with the aid of a Sikh force, expelled Gaur Rahmān from Gilgit a year and a half after his acquisition of it.

This brings us to the year 1842, and from that time Gilgit history becomes bound up with Kashmir; from here onwards it is known in more detail.

159 But first I must speak of Gaur Rahmān, who, though expelled at this stage, will again appear on the scene in a prominent part. He was the eldest son of Mulk Imān,* the ruler of Yāsīn. He

* Dr. Leitner states that Mulk Imān was brother to Sulaimān Shāh; this would make Sulaimān Shāh uncle to Gaur Rahmān, but in another place Dr. Leitner speaks of Sulaimān Shāh as Gaur Rahmān's great-uncle; I do not know which is correct.

I have had given me the names of eight sons of this Mulk Imān:—Gaur Rahmān: Gul Sher Khān, the son of a golī, or concubine; he was killed in the fight at Madorī: Mīr-i-Imān, the son of a Rānī; he was killed in Chitral, in 1870: Akbar Imān, the son of a golī; he was killed by his nephew, Mulk Imān: Khalīl-i-Imān, the son of a golī; he lives at Tūī, in Yāsīn (1870): Dur-i-Imān; he was killed at Madorī: Suja', the son of a golī; he was living in Yāsīn in 1870: Zedulla Khān, the son of a golī; he was killed at Roshan in 1869.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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was a most bloodthirsty man; as much so perhaps, though he had not the same opportunities of killing on a large scale, as Theodore of Abyssinia. There are many tales told of his ferocity and brutality; the Dārds generally are rather careless of life, but with his deeds they were disgusted. I believe it to be a fact that on one occasion at least he killed a young child by throwing it up and cutting it in the air with his sword. And I cannot doubt the truth of this that I heard, that, he stopping at Naupūra, on a village headman being brought before him on some complaint, or else coming to complain of his people, Gaur Rahmān beckoned him near, and then, with his sword, cut the man's head off with a blow; then he would let no one touch the body to bury it, but would have it devoured by the dogs. They say that when he was ill he would have some men killed for *niyās*, that is, as a propitiatory sacrifice. He seems to have had a special enmity and spite against the people of Gilgit, who suffered terribly under his two reigns, but to have spared the Puniāl people.

Gaur Rahmān married first the maternal aunt of Imān-ul-Mulk, ruler of Chitrāl, secondly the sister of the same Imān-ul-Mulk, and, thirdly, the daughter of Āzād Khān, of Puniāl, that is, it would seem, the daughter of the man who killed his uncle. From the first marriage he had two sons, *Mulk Imān* (named after his grandfather) and *Mir Walī*; from the second marriage he had a son, *Pahlwān Bahādur*, who is also called Ghulām Mahai-ud-dīn; from the third marriage he had two sons, one was *Mīr Ghāzi*, the other (whose name I do not know) was killed by his half-brother Mulk Imān.

THE SIKH OCCUPATION; 1842 TO 1847.

Gaur Rahmān, as stated above, coming from Yāsīn, conquered Gilgit and killed the then ruler, Raja Shāh Sakandar. Shāh Sakandar's brother, Karīm Khān, having escaped to Gor, from there sent an agent to the Sikh Governor of Kashmir imploring aid. The appeal was responded to. A couple of Sikh regiments were sent under Nathū Shāh, a Syed, of Gujrānwāla, who held the rank of colonel. This was about the year 1842. Up to this time the

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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175 Sikhs had not occupied the intermediate country of Astor, but they had made it tributary to them; now on advancing they established a post there to make their communications sure.*

Nathū Shāh encountered Gaur Rahmān (who seems to have relinquished Gilgit itself) at Basīn, three miles higher up the valley, and defeated him; Gaur Rahmān retired into Puniāl.

Shortly afterwards, in the same year, one Mathrā Dās, having boasted to the Sikh Governor of Kashmir that he could easily settle the whole country of Gilgit, was sent to supersede Nathū Shāh. Coming to Gilgit, Mathrā Dās went forward to the frontier by Sharot with part of the Sikh force, Nathū Shāh retaining the rest. Gaur Rahmān attacked Mathrā Dās and his force in the stony plain between Sharot and Gulpūr and defeated them with great loss, having here some horsemen to aid him. Mathrā Dās himself ran straight away to Kashmir; but Nathū, who was really a soldier, came up with his reserve from Gilgit and prepared to engage Gaur Rahmān. But before they came to blows negotiations were entered into, and the strange result was that it was agreed the Sikhs should hold Gilgit, the boundary being drawn where the two forces were confronting each other, that being, indeed, the usual boundary of Gilgit, and that Gaur Rahmān should give his daughter in marriage to Nathū Shāh, the commander of the Sikhs. Not only was this done, but the Hunza Raja (Ghazan Khān) and the Nagar Raja, who were there as allies to Gaur Rahmān, did the same thing; each gave a daughter to Nathū Shāh, and peace was made all round.

Of course Nathū Shāh did not give over Gilgit completely to Raja Karīm Khān, who had called in his aid, but there was a kind of joint government established. Karīm Khān had certain dues from the people allotted to him; further imposts were, I think, made for the Sikh Government; a small Sikh force was fixed at Gilgit under a thānadār, and Nathū Shāh himself returned to Kashmir, or rather (for reasons connected with the Sikh troubles which were then brewing) passed through Kashmir, avoiding Sirīnagar, to the Panjāb.

We have seen that Karīm Khān was not of the old rulers of

* For an incident in the history of Astor near this time, see p. 403.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

Gilgit; his father had conquered it; his brother and he himself had been turned out by Gaur Rahmān, who had just the same right to it as the other's father—that is, no right at all, but only the power of acquiring it. Karīm Khān asked the aid of strangers —of the Sikhs—to get back the country; they got it back, but, as was to be expected, held it more for themselves than for him. 175

Thus were things settled; and this was the state that Maharaja Gulāb Singh succeeded to when he received Kashmir in accordance with the two treaties made by the British, with the Sikh Darbār in one case, and himself in the other.*

THE SUCCESSION OF THE DOGRAS; 1847.

On Kashmir, and with it Gilgit, being ceded to Gulāb Singh, Nathū Shāh left the Sikhs and transferred his services to the new ruler, and went to take possession of Gilgit for him. In this there was no difficulty. The Dogrā troops relieved the Sikh posts at Astor and Gilgit; most of the Sikh soldiers took service under the new rulers; they were few in number, those at Gilgit being perhaps not more than one hundred.

The frontier at this time was between Shakaiot and Gulpūr, in the main valley, and somewhere above Chaprot, on the Hunza stream. Since then, after many oscillations, of some of which an account will be given farther on, the changes made have resulted in this, that Puniāl has been brought within the Maharaja's boundary as a dependent Rajaship, and that his territory in the valley of the Hunza River has been contracted by Chaprot having been wrested from him by the Hunza people.

It has been the subject of remark by some that the words of the treaty between the British Government and Maharaja Gulāb Singh (see Appendix V.), namely, "the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravee," cannot be made to include Gilgit, which indeed is on the north of the Indus.

But the fact is these words will not bear any close geographical examination or application at all. Ladākh, which certainly was

* See Chap. I., p. 20, and Appendix V.

1: Drew G-S (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

175 intended to be brought in, is north-east and north of the Rāvī, and not west of it; Kashmir itself, the chief object of the treaty, cannot accurately be said to be west of it either, while it is both east and west of the Indus. The framers did not know very exactly nor care to express very closely how the countries lay; but afterwards, at leisure, a commission was sent by the British Government, which laid down a portion of the boundary, and by that commission both Ladākh and Gilgit were recognized as part of the countries handed over to Maharaja Gulāb Singh. To Gilgit came Lieuts. Vans Agnew and Young,* of the Bengal Engineers. I do not hear how far they went up the main valley; on the Hunza River they went to the frontier, then beyond Chaprot. Also they wrote to the Hunza Raja asking his leave to come there, but he refused it. At this time (which was, I think, in the year 1847) the actual boundary, as before said, was above Chaprot in one valley, and between Shakaiot and Gulpūr in the other.

The state of peace did not long continue. Shortly after the visit of the two English officers, the Hunza Raja made an attack on the Gilgit territory and plundered five villages; he justified his thus breaking peace with Nathū Shāh by saying that Nathū Shāh had broken faith with him in bringing the Farangīs to see the country. Nathū Shāh led a force up the valley of the Hunza River to avenge this attack, but his force was destroyed and he himself was killed, as also was Karīm Khān, the titular Raja of Gilgit, who had accompanied him.†

* Lieut. Vans Agnew was murdered at Multān; Lieut. Young is now Col. (Ralph) Young, R.E., Commissioner in the Panjāb.

† Karīm Khān was succeeded in the title of Raja of Gilgit by his son, Muhammad Khān. This one, from the troubles that will be described immediately, retired to Kashmir, where he died. Thus when, as will be told, the Maharaja of Kashmir, after losing Gilgit, reconquered it, there was no one to represent the family in whose aid the Sikhs had originally arrived in the country. But the present Maharaja looked about for some one of that family, and then heard of a boy three years old, whose parentage was this—Karīm Khān had married a woman of the old Trakan caste; a daughter of this marriage had married Zafar, the present Raja of Nagar; of these a boy was born, whose name is Alīdād. The Maharaja wrote to the father saying he would like to do something for the boy; thereupon Zafar sent the child, and said the Maharaja might have him for good and all. He lives at Gilgit, with the title of Raja, and with some, not very important, rights to a share of certain dues. When I saw him he was a sharp little boy of thirteen.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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Gaur Rahmān, too, who at this time governed Puniāl and Yāsīn, joined in against the Dogrās; the people of Darel joined also; Gilgit Fort fell into the hands of these allies. 175

To put things right Maharaja Gulāb Singh sent two columns, one from Hasora and one from Baltistān; there was some fighting, and then peace was made on the basis of the former state of things. After this a few years went by without any great disturbances, until events occurred which caused the Maharaja to lose all of Dārdistān that he possessed on the right bank of the Indus.

THE EXPULSION OF THE DOGRAS; 1852.

In 1852 Sant Singh was Thānadār, or Commander, at Gilgit Fort; there was another fort at Naupūra, a couple of miles off, held by a Gurkhā regiment of the Maharaja's, under Rām Dīn, Commandant; and one Bhūp Singh was in command of the reserves at Bawanjī and Astor.

I do not know what it was that made Gaur Rahmān to perceive and urged him to take advantage of his opportunity. He suddenly brought a force that surrounded and separated the two forts.

Bhūp Singh, hearing of this, advanced to their relief with some 1200 men. He crossed the Nīla Dhār, a ridge which separates the Se and Gilgit valleys, and had reached to the bank of the Gilgit River, where there is a narrow space between the water and the alluvial cliff; the path here rises from the level of the stream to an alluvial platform two or three hundred feet above it by a narrow gully. But here he found the road stopped by the enemy; the Dārds had barricaded every possible channel of access, they had built sangars, or stone breastworks, across every gully that led to the higher ground. And the Dārds had also managed, by passing along difficult mountain paths, to get to the rear of the Dogrās, so that their retreat by the way they had come was made equally difficult with their advance. The river by their side was swift and deep, there was no hope to be gained from that; at the same time the Hunza people assembled with adverse intent on the left bank opposite, within gunshot. In short Bhūp Singh was caught in a

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

175 trap. Thus encircled he was helpless unless by main force he could push his way up one of the defiles.

The Dārds then began to play the game of double-dealing in which they are such adepts.* They promised Bhūp Singh provisions, for of these he was quite short, and a safe passage back if he would agree to retire. This he consented to do, and he waited for days in hopes of the food coming; the Dārds kept him in expectation, and fed his hopes; one might almost fancy that they had learnt a lesson from Akbar Khān of Kābul. Thus for seven days the Dogrās were kept without food, and only then, when they were so reduced in strength as to be helpless, did the enemy begin their attack. The Hunza people fired from the left bank, while Gaur Rahmān's army sent from the summits of the alluvial cliffs close above a storm of bullets and stones that soon overwhelmed the force. Near a thousand died on the spot; a hundred or two were taken prisoners and sold into slavery.†

I think that Gaur Rahmān himself was not present here, but that the Dārds were led by his brother and his sons.

While the Maharaja's reserve was thus being disposed of, a somewhat similar tragedy was being done upon his troops at Gilgit and Naupūra, who, we saw, had been separately surrounded. Naupūra is on an alluvial or fan plateau, 250 feet above the Gilgit plain. An adjutant with two or three hundred men sallied from Gilgit Fort in order to succour the garrison of Naupūra; they divided into two parties, those who went by an upper path were cut to pieces, the others succeeded in throwing themselves into the fort. But here, too, rations failed, and, besides, the supply of water was cut off by the enemy. Then began negotiations as before, and the force was allowed to retire; they were being passed down, when, as I hear, one of the Dārds made a grab at a gold earring which the Commandant wore; this he resisted, and the affray was the signal for a general assault on the Dogrā troop. These collected themselves into a walled enclosure—the

* I do not mean to say that the Dārds are much given to double-dealing; I think that the Dārd character, at all events of the lower classes, is generally straightforward. But in war they would count such a weapon quite a fair one, and certainly they can make good use of it.

† One of these survivors is now, they say, a rich merchant in Yārkand.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

place abounds with such—and defended themselves gallantly for a whole day, but they were at last overpowered; about 300 were killed and a few were made slaves. Eighteen years later I met one of these; he was a Rājpūt, but he had been forced to become a Muhammadan for the sake of his life; he was taken into the household of one of the family of Gaur Rahmān, and grew into a position of great confidence there, and had become bound up in feeling with the Dārds. 175

Then came the turn of Gilgit Fort. I do not know exactly how it was managed (for where the destruction was so thorough it is not easy to get the evidence of eye-witnesses), but I believe in somewhat the same way all the garrison came into the hands of the Dārds and were killed. The Gurkhā soldiers in the Maharaja's army, as in the British, take their families with them on service; their wives were in Gilgit Fort; these were all killed excepting one, who, throwing herself into the river that flows by the fort, managed to cross it and to reach the Indus, and to cross that also to Bawanjī; they say that she swam the Indus holding on to a cow's tail; at all events she escaped to tell the story, and she now receives a pension in Kashmir.

Thus, as before said, the Dogrās were expelled from all that part of Dārdistān which is on the right bank of the Indus. Gaur Rahmān again ruled in Gilgit.

From the time when these events happened, from the year 1852, onwards for eight years, the Maharaja's boundary, below Haramosh, remained at the Indus; above Haramosh, that is, in Baltistān, he possessed the country on both sides of the river. A considerable force was kept at Bawanjī; a few small raids took place, but no important movement; once by way of reprisal an expedition was made into Se, but none of the country on that side of the Indus was for a long time occupied. It seems to have been Gulāb Singh's fixed policy to advance no farther.

RE-CONQUEST BY THE DOGRAS; 1860.

In 1857 the present Maharaja, Ranbīr Singh, succeeded his father, Gulāb Singh, and he soon formed in his mind the intention

1s Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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175 of regaining on the frontier what had been lost, and re-establishing the name and reputation of his army. At first, however, his attention and his resources were employed in the operations attending the Indian Mutiny; it was not until 1860 that he found opportunity for settling the affairs of Gilgit in the way he desired.

A force crossed the Indus and advanced on Gilgit under the command of a man who was a thorough soldier, Colonel (now General) Devi Singh, Narainiá. In the interval of eight years Gaur Rahmán had built the fort described in Chapter XVII., and this was thought by the Dárds to be a work quite impregnable; but the Dográs determined to attempt its conquest.

It so chanced that just before Devi Singh's force reached Gilgit, Gaur Rahmán himself died; it was, I think, in Yásin that he died; the news undoubtedly disheartened his people in Gilgit; they did not make much resistance to the assault; a cannon-ball which passed through the door of the fort killed the Wazír; this decided them to give in, and Gilgit again belonged to Jummoo, and since then the hold of the Dográs on the fort itself has never been lost.

Reckoning, doubtless, on a general disorganization of the Yásin power from Gaur Rahmán's death, the Dográ leader determined to advance farther, to follow up the victory. He and his army were actually able to reach Yásin, which they took, but to hold it was no part of their plan, so after a few days they retired to Gilgit.

They had, however, placed on the gaddí, or throne, at Yásin one Azmat Sháh, a son of Sulaimán Sháh, the old ruler of Yásin and invader of Gilgit, this Azmat Sháh being, as near as I can make out, first cousin to Gaur Rahmán. The idea was that Azmat Sháh at Yásin would remain on peaceable and friendly terms with the Maharaja's authorities at Gilgit. But the plan would not work; no sooner had the Dográ force turned their backs than the Yásinis expelled their nominee, and poor Azmat Sháh had to flee for his life. This was all done so quickly that when the Dográ army on their return reached Gilgit, which is but

1: Drew G-3 (1868-1878) 1878 AVI Kashmir
Dard AV3

half-a-dozen marches from Yásin, they found Amrat Shah already there a refugee, he having come by a mountain path in his flight. 116

One other political arrangement was then made, which was more permanent—indeed has endured to this day (1876).

Mention has been made of Raja 'Isá Bágdar, of Punial, of the line of the old Rajas of that country. I think it must have been about the time of the Sikh invasion of Gilgit that he incurred the enmity of Gaur Rahmán, and was obliged to leave his home; he took refuge first in Gilgit, then in Chilás, and ultimately he came to Kashmir, and there received a grant of land. When the re-conquest of Gilgit was planned, he accompanied the Maharaja's troops, and as the advance was continued into the country of his hereditary chiefship he was placed in power and welcomed by the people, who had for some years been subject to the bloodthirsty Gaur Rahmán. Ever since that time Punial he has held, aided by and aiding the Maharaja's troops in all the later troubles.

At this time of his reinstatement he acquired a bit of country which had never before been in the hands of his family. This was the valley of Ishkoman, which leads up northward from nearly opposite Gákúj. It was granted to 'Isá Bágdar by Amrat Shah, the few-days'-ruler of Yásin; of old it belonged to Yásin. Although the grantor almost immediately lost all his power, yet the grant remained for four years (or by one account six years) in the hands of 'Isá Bágdar; then, in further struggles, he lost it, and at this day it is with Yásin.

The possession of Ishkoman by the same power that should hold Punial and Gilgit might, perhaps, be a source of confusion, since a road leads from the head of the valley over into Badakhshán; but of the character of this road I know little.

LATER HOSTILITIES; 1863 TO 1868.

At the conclusion of the war, which ended on the withdrawal of the Dográ force from Yásin to Gilgit in the same year, 1863, the state of things was this:—One of Gaur Rahmán's sons, Malik Imán by name, had succeeded him, and was ruler of Yásin, of the original family possessions, with the exception of the above-men-

In Draw G-8 (1863-1872) 1875 AVI Kashmir
Dard AV3

• 175 tioned Ishkoman. Raja Zal Digdar held Punial, and with it Ishkoman, in dependence on the Maharaja. The Maharaja's own officers and troops occupied the country of Gilgit, that which of old belonged to the Rajaship of Gilgit. Nor have many changes taken place since, or rather the result of them has been to bring things nearly to the same state after the various events which we will now speak of. These may seem but petty, yet their relative importance is the greater the nearer they are in time to the present, since from them can be drawn considerations which may tell on the future politics of this frontier.

After the war, though for a time peace prevailed, there was a feeling of stifled enmity between the two sides, which was not before long to show itself in action. Various events occurred, among them the plunder and detention of a merchant sent by the Maharaja to buy horses, on his way from Badakhshán through Yárkand, which determined the Maharaja to send a punitive expedition to Yárkand. Early in the year 1863 a force was led by Colonel (now General) Hoshiyára, a bold, dashing, perhaps rash, leader, to Yárkand. Little resistance was made at the place itself. But the Yárkand people and forces were collected at a place called Mazartákot, about a day's march higher up the valley, the women and children also having taken shelter within that fort. Thither the Dográs followed; on their approach the Yárkandis came out to give battle in front. The Yárkandis were defeated and broken; some fled to the hills, among whom was the Raja, Malik Imán; others fled to the fort; those the Dográs in hot pursuit followed in before the gates could be closed, and there began first a hand-to-hand fight, and then the indiscriminate slaughter that is so apt to follow the taking a place by assault.

This complete defeat brought down the Yárkand leaders, and made them submissive. The Dográs, indeed, at once retired to their old boundary, but for a few years Yárkand was in some sense tributary; that is, the chiefs sent their agents to Jammoo with presents, and they were anxious to keep on good terms with the Maharaja; and with good management this state of things might have been kept up till now.

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But the want of political ability in those who were sent in command to Gilgit, as well as circumstances over which they themselves had no control, hindered a good understanding being kept up with the tribes. 175

I do not know on what special quarrel disturbances again began, but in the year 1866 the Gilgit authorities under the Maharaja found Hunza such a thorn in the side, that they arranged an attack on that place, the Nagar people promising aid so far as to allow a passage through their country. This, indeed, was aid of the greatest importance, for the difficulty of approaching Hunza, on account of certain defiles to be passed, is probably greater than that of taking the forts when you reach them.

The Dográ force advanced on the Nagar side of the river, the left bank, and reached a place opposite to and within gunshot of one of the Hunza forts. But the way across to it did not seem easy, the river flows between cliffs of some height—probably alluvium or fan cliffs; and it was said that no practicable road could be found down and up them.

After a few days it seemed that the Nagar people were beginning to fall away from the alliance. The Dográs began to be suspicious of them, and this distrust very likely brought about its own justification. At last, one evening, a report spread among the Dográs that the Nagaris were upon them; a panic struck them, and they retreated, or more accurately perhaps fled, though no enemy was attacking them; in this disgraceful way they returned to Gilgit.

Things did not stop here. This display of weakness on the part of the Dográs caused all their old enemies to combine to try and expel them. A most formidable confederation of all the tribes round was made. Wazir Rahmat, the Yásin Wazir, was, they say, the soul of this combination. A year or two before he had paid his respects to the Maharaja at Jummoo, coming on the part of the Yásin Raja. He had now accompanied the Maharaja's force to Nagar, and for some time after its return had encamped at Gilgit, but one day, leaving his camp standing, he disappeared; he made his way to Yásin.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

175 In a month or two a considerable army invaded Gilgit. The Yāsīn ruler had now looked for aid across the mountains to Chitrāl, and from there came a force of horse and foot led by Imān-ul-Mulk, the Raja of Chitrāl. These with the Yāsīnīs and the Darelis (from Darel, one of the valleys on the south-west of Gilgit) environed Gilgit Fort, while the Hunza and the Nagar people, now in conjunction, occupied the left bank of the river, opposite the fort. The Raja of Chitrāl was the man of most importance of all the leaders.

This invading force, on its way to Gilgit or soon afterwards, reduced most of the forts of Puniāl: that is to say, Gākūj, Bubar, &c., aided, they say, by treachery within them. But the fort of Sher held out. Raja 'Isā Bāgdur himself was within it with 100 of the Maharaja's sepoys; supported by them he even went so far as to expel *most of his own people*, who, they say, went and joined —outwardly, for their own safety, and not heartily—the enemy. These, under Mīr Wali, brother to the then Raja of Yāsīn, besieged Sher with vigour, but they could make little impression upon it.

The mass of the invading force were unable to pass along the usual road on account of the fire from Sher Fort, but they found a way higher up the mountains, and so approached and invested Gilgit Fort, on the fate of which hung the state of the whole valley. The besiegers expected that it soon would fall, for they had heard that it had provisions to last for a week or two only, so they closely blockaded it, and were able to repel all sallies. But, in truth, the fort was better provisioned than they thought.

Meanwhile news of this state had reached Kashmir, and the Maharaja had sent off reinforcements with great expedition under the charge of Wazīr Zurāorū and Col. Bīja Singh. At Bawanjī, on the river, they met with some opposition; but when once they had effected a landing on the right bank of the Indus, and the news had reached Imān-ul-Mulk, he and his troops and allies decamped and got safely back to their own countries.

The whole confederation had melted away. Thus different was the conduct of it from the energetic action of the Yāsīn troops,

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

who fourteen years before succeeded in expelling their enemies from the Gilgit Valley. 175

The Dogrā force now assembled in Gilgit was, for that barren country, very large; there were, I think, 3000 soldiers, and they were accompanied by a great number of coolis to carry supplies. The leaders began to revolve in their minds what should be done, what punishment should be inflicted, and on whom, as a retribution for the late invasion; but it was long before they could come to a decision. Wazīr Zurāorū wished to attempt something, but something that was sure of success; an old and trusted servant of the Maharaja's house, now declining in years, he did not wish that his reputation should be dulled at last by a failure. After much time wasted in hesitation, an expedition to Dārel was determined on.

The expedition started in September (1866).* The main body, under Wazīr Zurāorū and Colonel Bīja Singh, went by the Naupūra ravine, which is almost exactly in front of Gilgit; another division, under Bakhshī Rādha Kishan, went up a side valley from Singal. The only opposition met with was to the main force. This, having crossed the dividing ridge of mountains, was passing down along a ravine, at some distance above the place where that ravine debouches into the main Dārel Valley. A barricade formed of felled trees and stones was met with; this was defended by Mulk Imān of Yāsīn, with some of his own people, who were more used to fighting than were the Dārelīs. Bīja Singh, however, an experienced and wary soldier, knew what was the right thing to do; he scaled the heights and turned the position, and the enemy had to flee. In a day or two after this the right column joined. The main column had made six marches to the first village-fort in Dārel, the right column four marches. There was no more opposition, the country of Dārel lay open to the Dogrās.

As will be seen from the map, this Dārel Valley leads southward to the Indus. There are seven village-forts in it; the Dogrās only reached four of them; the one they came to first was the highest in the valley. All the inhabitants had fled to the

* It was while this expedition was on hand that Dr. Leitner visited Gilgit.

1; Drew G-8 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

175 mountains, there was not even a woman or a child to be seen; the cattle even had all been driven off. The Dogrās stayed a week. Some of the chief men of Dārel came in and made their submission; as snow was about to fall on the hills behind, it was convenient to take that as a reason for retiring. So the force returned, with some losses by cold, chiefly of the accompanying Kashmīrī coolis. The Dogrās certainly had shown the Dārelis that their country was not inaccessible, and doubtless they left their mark on it. After this, a great part of the force returned to Kashmir, and the usual garrison was established in Gilgit.

In the next year, I believe, 1867, the untiring Yāsīn enemies invaded Puniāl, attacking the fort of Bubar; but here were some of the Maharaja's irregulars, and they, with Raja Īsā Bāgdur, held out and made sallies; so the enemy was held in check until Bakshī Rādha Kishan arrived with some troops from Gilgit and relieved the place, the Yāsīnīs at once retreating.

This was the last conflict that occurred on the side of Yāsīn.

The enmity of the Hunza ruler was no less than that of the Yāsīn Raja. He had, in some of the later wars, taken, and he succeeded in retaining, the village of Chaprot, which village is held by Hunza to this day. From Chaprot, in or about the year 1869, the Hunza people made a raid on the large village of Niomal; they took away all the inhabitants, some 200 in number; those of them who were Kashmīrī Dārds, of the mixed blood, sixty or seventy, they sold to slave-merchants; but the others, after representations made from Gilgit, they sent back.

Other things have been endured from Hunza, and some reprisals have been made by the Gilgit officers, but there has been no fighting on a large scale.

CHANGES AT YASIN; 1870–1873.

The list of Gaur Rahmān's sons before given must be referred to, and the names of the three first of them remembered. There are Mulk Imān and Mīr Walī of one mother, and Pahlwān Bahādur (also called Ghulām Mahai-ud-dīn) of another, who was sister to Imān-ul-Mulk, the Raja of Chitrāl. We saw that Mulk Imān,

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Oard AV3

Gaur Rahmān's eldest son, succeeded to power on the death of his father, and had, during the later hostilities, led the Yāsīn forces; he is a man, I believe, of small stature, but strong and active, a soldier, but without much head. 175

Soon after the events last described, Mulk Imān and his brother Mīr Walī fell out. Mīr Walī, getting aid from Imān-ul-Mulk of Chitrāl, expelled Mulk Imān, and himself became ruler in Yāsīn. Mulk Imān took refuge in Darel first; then, strange to say, he came to the Maharaja of Kashmir, was well received by him, and was established at Gilgit with a pension, almost within sight of his old enemy Raja 'Isā Bāgdur, and quite within sight of the agents of his inimical brother, who now and then used to come to Gilgit.

Mīr Walī became a tributary to, or, more than that even, a dependent on, the Raja of Chitrāl. Pahlwān Bahādur received from the same chief the governorship or rajaship, whichever it may best be called, of Mastūj on the Chitrāl side of the mountains. Thus Chitrāl, Mastūj, and Yāsīn became bound up together. The relation of all these to the Maharaja's officers at Gilgit consisted in keeping and being kept at arm's length. As a rule, the Maharaja's agents could not safely enter the other territories, but some messengers from Yāsīn or Chitrāl used to come to Gilgit, knowing they need not fear for their lives, and hoping to carry away some present worth having in return for the smooth messages they delivered.

The next thing that brought about any change was, curiously enough, the visit of an Englishman.

In the beginning of the year 1870, Lieut. George W. Hayward came to Gilgit. He had been sent out by the Royal Geographical Society of London with the object of exploring the Pāmir Steppe. In prosecution of this object he had gone to Yārkand and Kāshgar, from which places he had, in the previous year, returned to the Panjāb unsuccessful as to his main end, not having been allowed to approach the Pāmir from the side of Yārkand, but with a store of information about Eastern Turkistān. With an enthusiasm for his purpose that was characteristic of him, he determined

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

175 to run the risk of a journey through Yāsīn and Badakhshān to the place which was his goal. Though warned by many of the danger of putting himself in the power of such people as the Yāsīn and Chitrāl rulers—I myself introduced to him men who knew the ways of them, and declared them to be utterly devoid of faith—he started on the journey. What followed is told in the Royal Geographical Society's Proceedings for 1870, partly by his own pen, and partly, the final scenes, by mine. As that publication may not be available to all my readers, and as the story of the endeavours of a brave rash man may have interest and value to them, I will here put down a short account of Mr. Hayward's doings, by the repetition in part of the substance of what I had before written to Sir Roderick Murchison, President at that time of the Royal Geographical Society.

The first thought was that there would be difficulty in entering the Yāsīn country, that the chief would refuse admission to Hayward, as the Hunza ruler had done to Lieuts. Vans Agnew and Young twenty years before. But it did not turn out so. It chanced that an agent of Mīr Walī's had on some pretext come to Gilgit, and was there on Hayward's arrival; by his hands he sent a letter and presents, and in due time an answer came from Mīr Walī to the effect that he would be glad to see him. So Hayward went, was hospitably received, was taken about to some of the valleys for sport, and was made much of, in fact was won over by Mīr Walī. This was in the winter when the snow was on the ground; there was no prospect for three months or more of the road to Badakhshān being open. Hayward, though on good terms with the ruler, did not think it wise to wear out his welcome by staying all that time, but determined to return to the Panjāb, and make a fresh start in the early summer. And did Hayward give nothing in return for this attention from such a known avaricious man as Mīr Walī? He gave almost all he had with him that was suitable for presents, and he promised what was of more value. And this it is that shows the astuteness of the ruler. Mīr Walī interested Hayward in what he himself counted, and persuaded Hayward to consider, his rightful claims to Gilgit,

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

and engaged his guest to represent these to the Governor-General, in order that the Maharaja might be forced to withdraw to the Indus. 175

The reader of the preceding pages will at once see that Mīr Walī had no more original right to Gilgit than the Maharaja had; that his father, Gaur Rahmān, had conquered it from some one who had conquered it from some one else; and that, although some four dynasties back (about one reign goes to a dynasty here) a relation of Gaur Rahmān's possessed Gilgit, yet he also only gained it by the same means as those by which his successor wrested it from him. The Sikhs, the Maharaja's predecessors, had conquered Gilgit from Gaur Rahmān, and, after more struggles between the two powers, neither of whom had any better claim to it than the sword, it had finally remained with the Maharaja.

But little of this did Hayward know. He adopted the views of Mīr Walī, promised his aid in getting them brought before the British Government. In fact, he himself brought them before the Governor-General; nothing was done about it; nothing could have been done about it. But Mīr Walī meanwhile was sanguine. He had, I believe, put down Hayward for a British agent, and he built upon his endeavours.

Hayward returned to Yāsīn in July (1870), and at once it was clear that the former cordial terms would not prevail. Mīr Walī was vexed at his having effected nothing for him, was vexed to see the now large mass of baggage, containing untold wealth in the very things he would like to have (for they had been provided as gifts for the people *beyond Yāsīn*), going out of his grasp, was vexed at Hayward's not agreeing to the route (through Chitrāl) that he was desired to take; lastly he was enraged at an encounter of words that took place between guest and host. For one used to have his own way within his own little country all this was sure to be more than annoying. For Mīr Walī, a man who thought little of taking life, it was enough to decide him to murder his guest and take possession of the baggage.

Hayward had started from Yāsīn, and had made three short

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

175 marches on the road to Badakhshān, had reached a place called Darkūt, when he was overtaken by fifty or sixty men sent by Mīr Walī. These, however, gave no signs of enmity; their leader said he had been sent to see the camp safe across the Pass. But the next morning they took Hayward in his sleep, bound his hands, led him a mile into the pine forest, and killed him by a blow from a sword. His five servants, Kashmīrīs and Pathāns, met with the same fate.

Three months afterwards I recovered Hayward's body, sending a messenger with presents and promises from Gilgit, where I lay. We buried him in a garden not far from Gilgit Fort.

It was said that this visit of Hayward's caused the next political changes in Yāsīn. This is what happened.

Wazīr Rahmat was still in the position of chief adviser of the Yāsīn ruler; but this thing Mīr Walī had done against his advice; it became a cause of distrust between them, and led each to plot against the other. It was Wazīr Rahmat's plot that succeeded. He sent his son to Pahlwān Bahādur of Mastūj, with whom a scheme was made up, that received the sanction of Imān-ul-Mulk of Chitrāl, to displace Mīr Walī. Pahlwān Bahādur came suddenly to Yāsīn with a few hundred men; Mīr Walī would not oppose them, but fled into Badakhshān; Pahlwān Bahādur reigned in his place.

This was about August, 1870, very shortly after the murder of Hayward. Mīr Walī, repulsed from Badakhshān, came to Chitrāl and threw himself upon the mercy of Imān-ul-Mulk, who relaxed his anger and allowed him to remain at his Court.

For the last three years, from the end of 1870 onwards, the further course of events has not been exactly known, but I believe that by 1873 Mīr Walī regained his position in Yāsīn, and that things had returned to about the same state as they were before the visit of Hayward. Efforts have been made by the British Government and by the Maharaja of Kashmir, by application to Imān-ul-Mulk and otherwise, to get hold of Mīr Walī and the actual murderers, but success has attended none of them; the murder remains unavenged.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

the whole length of it. Vineyards abound. Kine and goats are plentiful. Deodar, pine, and oak grow on the hill-sides. Most of the people during summer time live up on the hills, where pasture is to be found. This is a federal republic; but the federal bond seems weak. The people are called by their neighbours Dārele. 101 361 642

Tangir, a republic. It has of old been tributary to Yāsīn; but there is no close connection.

Gor, a republic; it has three forts or villages. It sends a few goats to the Maharaja by way of tribute, and leaves hostages in Astor, but it is practically independent. The people are called Gūrīje.

Thalicha; a small village of seven houses. It is the smallest independent state that I have ever heard of. Its government is republican.

Chilās. This is one of the larger of these republics; its people are called by the other Dārds "Bhute." Some account of the way in which the Chilāsīs used to make raids on their neighbours has been given in Chapter XVII. The Sikhs sent an expedition to Chilās under one Sūja Singh, but it was repulsed; this was when Mīān Singh was the Sikh Governor of Kashmir, about the year 1843. The expedition sent by Maharaja Gulab Singh (in 1850 or '51), and its good effects, have already been spoken of. Since that time the Chilāsīs have been in a sense tributary; they now pay yearly to the Maharaja a tribute of 100 goats and about two ounces of gold-dust; otherwise they are free. [175] [648]

Beyond these, down the Indus Valley, are some places of which I know almost nothing but the name, they are— 101

Hudar, whose people are called Hudare.			
Bunar.			
Thak,	„	„	Khane.
Harban,	„	„	Bhije.
Thur,	„	„	Thorīje.
Sāzin.			
Koli,	„	„	Kolūche.
Pālus,	„	„	Palāoche.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV2
Dard AV3

At the time of Moghul power, Gilgit came under the suzerainty of Kashmir, but with the power going over to the Afghans, Gilgit became independent; several descendants of the old chiefs, as well as neighbouring chiefs, gained power, but each held it for very little time, always being killed off by some rival. Then with the coming of the Sikhs, several Muslim rulers appear in the pages of Gilgit's history, but in 1842 Yasin drove out the rulers of Gilgit, and Nathu Shah, who remained there to ensure his staying in power, made a friendship pact with the stronger of the neighbouring chiefs, and sealed this off by himself marrying the daughter of Gauhar Aman, and marrying his sons off to the daughters of the Hunza and Nagar chiefs. 175

Then in 1845, with the break up of the Sikh rule, Nathu Shah offered his services to Maharaja Gulab Singh, and he was appointed as Governor of Gilgit, two European officers accompanying him there. It is said that the Chief of Hunza became jealous of him because of these two officers, with the result that he invaded the country, was unsuccessful, but killed Nathu Shah. Next Gauhar Aman, the Chief of Punial, and Yasin invaded Gilgit. Maharaja Gulab Singh sent troops from Kashmir, and these, together with reinforcements from Astor and Skardu, defeated the invaders. The two officers commanding the Maharaja's garrison were Bhup Singh and Sant Singh; they governed the country peacefully for a while until the sons of Gauhar Aman took up the sword of their father, and in 1852, with the help of the Dards and the people of Hunza, they did not attack, but drew Bhup Singh together with a force of some thirteen hundred into an ambush. Eleven hundred of his Hindu troops were massacred, and two hundred, taken as prisoners, were sold into slavery after they had been converted to Islam; not a spiritual conversion, but a painful and frightening physical one, they being tied down to stakes one after the other and circumcised with swords. It is recorded that only one of the women camp followers escaped; she reached the other bank of the Indus by clinging to the tail of a cow—an animal sacred to the Hindus of course—which was swimming across, and was so able to get to Bunji to tell of the horror.

Gauhar Aman remained master of the country until his death in 1856. By that time Ranbir Singh had become Maharaja and in

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1
Dard AV3

● 175 1859 sent out a strong force under the command of General Devi Singh, who conquered Gilgit; the "enemy fled away before this force and he occupied the district as far as Yasin". In 1865 a punitive expedition to Hunza failed: taking advantage of this the tribes around Gilgit rose; they invested the fort for some time, but reinforcements arrived and they dispersed. After that, though tributary to Kashmir, the chiefs of Hunza and of Nagar gave occasional trouble, once even capturing the frontier fort of Chaprot.

There came the final phase. Under the command of the British Colonel Durand, an expedition was sent out and captured Nilt by assault, then pressed on over the most difficult mountain conditions, glaciers, snow, precipices, against a brave, strong and determined foe. The fanatical determination of this enemy may be judged by the message the defending Vizir of Hunza sent to Colonel Durand, "This fortress of Chalt is more precious to us than the strings of our wives' pyjamas". Yet the British troops under the Colonel, captured the whole country right up to the Pamir and Chinese frontier. This was followed by a handful of troops under Sir George Robertson conquering the Chilas.

144 The people of Gilgit, Astor and some of the countries beyond
142 are a race with features of the Aryan type, and they claim to be of that stock. The majority of them are medium of height, hardy and strongly built. Again the descendants of the chiefs differ from the others, no doubt because of marriage from time to time with the most beautiful women either captured or made wives in order to ensure peace with a neighbour. These men are tall, many are fair-complexioned, with pale hazel or blue eyes, and they are extremely handsome. The features of the men of Gilgit are usually long and oval, the nose strongly curved, the expression sinister if not fierce; generally they are not as fair as
291 the men of the Valley of Kashmir. They usually wear dark woollen clothes, with a cap which has been universally adopted by most troops fighting in cold places, being a long woollen bag which is rolled up until it fits over the head, it being possible to
181 unroll it to cover the ears. Of these men Neve says, "They
563 are an independent and bold race, more straightforward than the Kashmiris and less bloodthirsty than the Pathan"—the latter

3: Imperial Gazetteer G-3 (1889-95) 1909 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3

duck, and quail, pass up and down in the autumn and spring. Below the forest, on the lower and more barren hills, numerous flocks of wild sheep (*Ovis vignei* and *O. nahura*) are met with.

The climate is healthy and dry. At Gilgit itself it is never very cold, and snow seldom lies for more than a few hours. In the summer it is hot owing to the radiation from the rocky mountains, but it is cool compared with the climate of Northern India. The rainfall is very light.

History

The remains of ancient stone buildings and Buddhist carvings suggest that Gilgit was once the seat of a Buddhist or Hindu dynasty, while traces of abandoned cultivation point to the fact that the population in early times was far larger than it is at present. For many centuries the inhabitants of Gilgit have been Muhammadans, and nothing definite is now known of their Hindu predecessors. Tradition relates that the last of the Hindu Rās, Srī Badat, known as Adam-Khor, the 'man-eater,' was killed by a Muhammadan adventurer, who founded a new dynasty known as Trakhane. Srī Badat's rule is said to have extended to Chitrāl, and the introduction of Islām seems to have split up the kingdom into a number of small states carrying on a fratricidal warfare and incessant slave-raiding. The Trakhane dynasty is now extinct, though it is claimed that the present titular Rā of Gilgit has a slight strain of Trakhane blood. In the early part of the nineteenth century we find Yāsīn giving a Rā to Gilgit. He was killed by the ruler of Puniāl, who in turn was killed by Tair Shāh, chief of Nagar. Tair Shāh was succeeded by his son, who was killed by Gauhar Aman, ruler of Yāsīn. For the subsequent history of Gilgit, see KASHMĪR. The history of Astor, or, as the Dogrās call it, Hasora, is intimately connected with that of Skārdu. More than 300 years ago Ghāzī Mukhpun, a Persian adventurer, is said to have married a princess of the Skārdu reigning family. The four sons born of this union became Rās of Skārdu, Astor, Rondu, and Kharmang respectively, and from them are descended the families of the present chiefs of those places. The independence of Astor ceased at the Dogrā conquest. The present titular Rā of Astor is the lineal descendant of Ghāzī Mukhpun. The Dogrā rule has secured peace to the people, but it will be long before the country recovers entirely from the desolating slave-raids of Chilās.

The people

The Wazārat contains 264 villages, and the population, according to the Census of 1901, is 60,885. The pressure on the cultivated area is great, the density being 1,295 persons per square mile. The people of Astor and Gilgit would be

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Chitral

CHAPTER II

FIRST VISIT TO CHITRAL

644 159 175 AFZUL-UL-MULK, second son of the Mehtar or King of Chitral, who had passed the winter in a visit to India, and had been in Kashmir as I passed through, now arrived in Gilgit, and came to see me. He was generally known in Chitral as the Tsik Mehtar, or little Mehtar, his elder brother Nizam-ul-Mulk, in consideration of being heir-apparent, having the title of Sirdar. He was a good-looking young man with beautiful eyes and well-shaped face, the mouth being the bad part, the lower lip of which was heavy. It was the family feature, borne by every Katúr, as the clan of the ruling family was called. Colonel Lockhart had taken a great fancy to Afzul-ul-Mulk, and he had certainly a taking personality. Bright, cheery, of an enquiring turn of mind, talking Persian fluently, as does every gentleman in the Hindu-Kush, interested in everything he had seen in India, realising what the British power meant better than his father, who had never left Chitral, and extravagantly loyal, open-handed, courteous to all, young, handsome, hospitable, a good shot, and, for a Chitrali, a fine rider, it would have been curious if he had failed to be popular. But there was a different side to his

4: Durand G-3 (1888-93) 1900 AV1 Kashmir
Dard AV3
Chitral

character, as I very soon learnt. At heart he was a pure savage, a mixture of the monkey and the tiger. Loyal from calculation, and from hopes of being recognised by Government as the heir-apparent, he was, under his cloak of open bonhomie, generosity, and transparent honesty, the most persistent plotter, and the most treacherous and ruthless foe. At his father's death he very naturally seized the throne, and his elder brother fled the country, defeated by superior powers of intrigue. But with all his cunning Afzul-ul-Mulk was a fool. He tried to strike terror by *cutting down* the leading men; he cut down too many or too few. The cold-blooded and treacherous murder of three brothers would have passed with little comment, the death of leading adherents of his brother was natural, but the announcement that a list of head men existed, who were to be killed, and the uncertainty as to whose turn was to come next, were too much. A carefully prepared plot, hatched in Afghanistan, overthrew him; his trusted adherents betrayed him, his most confidential servant opened the gates of his fort and let in the enemy, and he fell as he had risen, by treachery and murder.

However, at the moment, everything was rosy. No shadows of coming events chilled us, and I gladly arranged to accept the Mehtar's invitation to visit his country, so courteously delivered by Afzul. It was decided that he should move on ahead of me, as he took up a great deal of carriage, and that he should await me at Mastuj, the headquarters of the district he governed. I wanted a few days to arrange about my carriage, and to take farewell of my Kashmiri friends, to each one of whom I had to

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181 time, their rapidity in movement, and intimate knowledge of their country, and its capabilities for defence, would make them dangerous enemies to a small invading force, and valuable auxiliaries while on the winning side.

175 Events proved the justness of the opinion then
181 formed and recorded. A few years later saw Chitral in the throes of civil war, and a Mehtar in possession one day, ousted and flying the next, after the fall of a position attended with the loss of one man. The feeble resistance made to Colonel Kelly's advance by the Chitralis, though holding splendidly defensible positions, the secondary part played by the Chitralis in the memorable siege of Chitral, when all the real fighting was done by Umra Khan's Pathans, and the skill they showed in cutting off small parties of Sikhs, all went to prove that, though not wanting in courage and endurance, they lack the tenacity and grit which is wanted to enable men to face severe loss and to make real soldiers. As Napoleon says, "*Un homme ce n'est pas un soldat.*" The Chitrali is wanting in the something which makes a soldier.

643 I found that the Mehtar had no conception of our
648 real strength, no standard by which to judge our power. He undervalued our troops, his only idea of a standing army being taken from the old Kashmir regulars, a body with whose name disaster was associated, and some of which he had himself defeated, driven into the fort of Gilgit, and besieged there.
643 His sons and leading men who had been to India had
648 not seen enough of our troops for their reports on
743 them to impress him. One thing I found he was most anxious to have, and that was a properly